1: Burrows--1-2 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 121 Ifalik

"The report that follows is based mainly on six months of residence on Ifalik, from July, 1947, to February, 1948. This field work was part of the project called CIMA (Co-ordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology), sponsored by the National Research Council at the request of the U.S. Navy. There were two of us on Ifalik. Melford L. Spiro, then a graduate student in anthropology from Northwestern University, investigated the development of native personality. Aspects of the culture particularly vital to that project--child care, the individual life cycle, sexual life, and the detailed functioning of kinship--were left to him.

This report has two purposes: to record a good deal of the culture for comparative study, and to supply information useful to administrators. It is too much to hope that either purpose will be fulfilled to the satisfaction of all concerned. [2] Ethnologists who confine themselves to standard data are comparatively easy to please. But those who attempt new lines of inquiry--as they should, for the whole subject is in a pioneering stage--are bound to be disappointed in their sources. In the same way, some matters are obviously important to administrators; but nobody can tell what else may become so. There is only one remedy. Administrators must have the assistance of anthropologists, trained to make whatever fresh studies a changing situation demands.

For both purposes this account will be supplemented by Melford Spiro's analysis of personality development. A third report, now in preparation, will be a study of the arts

most developed in Ifalik, -- songs, dances, and ritual--showing how they express the themes and sentiments that dominate native life."

1: Burrows--2 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 121 Ifalik

"Expert help has been received from many sources. Commander Betts of the Fleet Weather Center at Guam helped to explain the climate. Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., Honolulu officer of the Pacific Science Board, supplied English and scientific names of a number of animal species. Dr. F. Raymond Fosberg explained the conditions that govern plant life. He and Mr. Bryan collaborated with Miss Marie Neal of Bishop Museum in identifying plant specimens. Dr. Maud Makemson of Vassar College, whose studies in Polynesian and Maya astronomy have pioneered a new field of research that might be called ethnoastronomy, identified, as far as possible from the rough data supplied her, the stars by which native navigators find their way to other islands. Melford L. Spiro supplemented and corrected the data at many points. Some of his help is acknowledged in the text, but as we exchanged data constantly, not all of it could be."

29: Spiro--189 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 121 Ifalik-1 -4

"THE QUESTION of the incidence and kinds of mental illness found among primitive peoples has resulted in a respectable literature and has occasioned heated discussions. (1) It is not the purpose of this paper to enter into these many controversies or to discuss the problem of clinical versus cultural criteria of abnormality. Its nature is much less ambitious, being an account of just one abnormal personality in one primitive culture. It is the writer's hope that this paper will serve to re-emphasize what a number of writers have previously emphasized--the lack of concrete data on the nature of

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"1. For an excellent survey of the literature, summary of divergent opinions, and an original interpretation--though one the writer does not entirely subscribe to--see Erwin H. Ackerknecht, 'Psychopathology, Primitive Medicine and Primitive Culture,' Bull. Hist. Med. (1943) 14:30-67."

psychopathology among primitive peoples. (2) With almost pathetic regularity, anthropological discussions of the nature of abnormality have been characterized by the absence of any intensive study of, or reference to, concrete individuals. (3) This lack of detailed

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"2. See Ackerknecht, reference footnote 1; A. I. Hallowell, 'Culture and Mental Disorders,' J. Abnormal and Social Psychol. (1934) 29:1-9; J. M. Cooper, 'Mental Disease Situations in Certain Cultures,' J. Abnormal and Social Psychol. (1934) 29:10-18; R. E. L. Faris, 'Some Observations on the Incidence of Schizophrenia in Primitive Societies,' J. Abnormal and Social Psychol. (1935) 29:30-31; J. P. Foley, 'The Criterion of Abnormality,' J. Abnormal and Social Psychol. (1935) 30:279-291; N. J. Demerath, 'Schizophrenia among Primitives,' Amer. J. Psychiatry (1942) 98:203-207. All these writers, as well as many others, point out the dire need for concrete cases of mental disorder among primitive peoples, if future discussions of this problem are to be fruitful.

3. The only exception, to the writer's knowledge, is found in A. I. Hallowell, 'Shabwan: A Dissocial Indian Girl,' Amer. J. Orthopsychiatry (1938) 8:329-340."

information, while in itself of no great consequence, becomes gravely serious when this very lack of information becomes the basis for building theories of the nature of abnormality from a cross-cultural perspective. It seems obvious that all theoretical formulations based on ethnographic data will remain mere verbal exercises until we shall have collected a large number of concrete cases in the field which can be subjected to scientific analysis. Impressionistic observations of an ethnographer, however competent he be, do not in themselves constitute objective evidence; and yet they are used by otherwise careful scholars as proof of or documentation for their theories. (4) "

" 4. Ackerknecht, whose scholarship is otherwise impeccable, accepts ethnographic generalizations unquestioningly. He quotes, without reservation, for example, Warner's evaluation of a Murngin magician as being 'perfectly normal in his behavior,' and in whom 'there was nothing sinister, peculiar or psychopathic....' Reference footnote 1; p. 52 (quoting from W. L. Warner, A Black Civilization; p. 210). One need not impugn Warner's competence as an observer to ask for the evidence for this statement. Generalizations on this level of abstraction constitute the bulk of the ethnographic 'evidence' in discussions of this problem. "

(1947-48) 1950

This paper, then, is an attempt to begin to fill in this lacuna in our knowledge. The case to be presented is chosen because of its incontrovertible character. Tareveliman, the subject, is looked upon as abnormal by the members of his society, by the two anthropologists--Dr. E. G. Burrows and the writer--who studied the society, and by Tarev himself."

29: Spiro--202-203 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 121 Ifalik-1 3

"Since it was virtually impossible to obtain a case history on Tarev, we cannot get at the basic psychodynamics of this case. One aspect of his life emerges quite clearly, however, as of crucial significance--his Japanese interlude. It is our thesis that though this Japanese experience was not the sufficient cause of his psychosis, it was the necessary precipitating factor that served to elicit this particular syndrome. (19)

Regardless of the differences between the conflicting interpretations of the meaning of the abnormal--absolutist and clinical versus relativistic and statistical (cultural)--all interpretations will agree that the incidence of certain types of mental disease differs widely in different cultures. Comparative statistical data demonstrate this empirically, and, for the anthropologist, the explanation is not too hard to find. The psychological concepts of adjustment and maladjustment--like the biological concepts of adaptation and maladaptation--are not substantive, but rather relational terms. An organism is adapted or maladapted not in vacuo, but with reference to a particular environment. Any organism, as Dewey has put it so well, lives not 'in an environment,' but rather 'by means of its environment,' so that a change in either the organism or the environment destroys their dynamic equilibrium and results in maladaptation. (20)

"19. This analysis, with some modifications, was part of a paper read before the Central States Branch of the American Anthropological Association at its 1949 meetings in Bloomington, Indiana.

20. John Dewey, Logic: The Theory of Inquiry; New York, Henry Holt, 1938; p. 25."

So, too, human personality exists not so much in a culture as by means of [203] a culture. Each culture creates its own particular stresses and strains with which the personality must cope, but, at the same time, the culture also provides instrumentalities--institutionalized techniques--for the resolution of those stresses and strains. (21) Now those individuals who, for whatever the reasons--and the reasons are still very much obscure--cannot resolve these culturally-created stresses and strains by means of the instrumentalities that the culture itself provides must resolve them by means of personal instrumentalities, idiosyncratic ways known as neuroses or psychoses. However, since each culture creates its own unique psychic strains, the kinds of maladjustments and, consequently, the kinds of resolutions of those maladjustments--neuroses

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"21. The high incidence of personality disturbances found in native cultures in acculturative situations, or in the rapidly changing American culture, may thus be explained by the fact that these cultures in transition create new tensions, but have not yet created those cultural channels necessary for the alleviation of the tensions. For a detailed analysis of this position and an attempt to resolve the conflicting interpretations of the abnormal, see the writer's 'A Cultural Interpretation of the Abnormal' (ms. in preparation)."

and psychoses--will vary from culture to culture. (22)

Ifaluk is no exception. Certain infancy and childhood traumata, which limitations of space do not permit description of, create certain tensions (frustration - aggression patterns) and needs (dependency-security patterns) which, if left unresolved could very well lead to severe personality disturbance. At the same time, however, the culture provides institutional techniques (primarily religious) which alleviate the tensions and satisfy the needs. These institutional devices obviate the necessity and preclude the occurrence of acute personality disturbances. Thus, the external culturo-dynamic equilibrium results in an internal psychodynamic equilibrium. This personality equilibrium, we have seen, was as characteristic of Tarev as of the other members of his society. Then an obtrusive element--cruel treatment at the hands of the Japanese--intruded into his sociocultural field so as to destroy the equilibrium."

"22. This analysis, of course, applies only to those disturbances that result from culturally-patterned events. It does not apply to those that result from unique or 'personal-social conditioning,' to use Kimball Young's term."

29: Spiro--203 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 121, 181, 865 Ifalik

"The Ifaluk ethos is characterized by the ethic of nonaggression in interpersonal relations. Peace, cooperation, mutual aid--positively--and the inhibition of all aggression --negatively--are the basic values of Ifaluk culture. Furthermore, this culture is so patterned as to evoke a minimum of, if any, aggressive, arrogant, or competitive behavior. Given its cultural values, its culture pattern, and the effectiveness of its socialization process--it is little cause for wonder that there has not been one case of theft, robbery, rape, homicide, suicide, or domestic strife in the society--at least in the memory of any of the natives. Nor did the ethnographers witness any during their seven-month study. Since the culture neither permits nor evokes hostile or aggressive behavior in interpersonal relationships, it has evolved no techniques by which an individual, finding himself in such a situation, could come to terms with it. Only aggressive experiences of childhood are provided with cultural responses. Furthermore, a culture pattern which, in effect, elicits little aggression in adult life, has, as one of its consequences, the creation of personalities marked by a low threshold of frustration-tolerance. (23)"

"23. See Saul Rosenzweig, 'An Outline of Frustration Theory'; in J. McV. Hunt, ed., Personality and the Behavior Disorders; New York, Ronald Press, 1944."

29: Spiro--203-204 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 121, 177 Ifalik-1 - 2

"Tarev's cruel treatment at the hands of the Japanese was the first hostile experience he had encountered in his adult life. This experience was not only intrinsically alarming and frustrating but--what is even more important--it served to remobilize childhood traumata, reviving the anxieties, frustrations, and insecurities that until then had found cultural resolution. The result was psychosis, for the situation became overwhelming. To the first meaning of the cruelty--physical hurt--he could make no response: first, because the Japanese were the masters of the situation; and, second, because as a member of Ifaluk culture he was forced to inhibit his own aggression. To the [204] second meaning of the cruelty--the remobilization of his childhood traumata--there was no possible realistic--that is, cultural--response at all; for his culture had not provided for such a contingency. Since he could no longer live by means of his culture--'in his culturally constituted world,' to use Hallowell's phrase--he could live only by means of his own phantasies--his privately constituted world.

This theoretical analysis is substantiated by the facts. (24) As I stated earlier, the

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"24. Similarly, J. C. Carothers has shown that the incidence of 'mental derangement' among African natives is correlated with their living away from their native homes. See 'A Study of Mental Derangement in Africans, and an Attempt to Explain its Peculiarities, More Especially in Relation to the African Attitude to Life,' Psychiatry (1948) 11:47-85."

natives know of no instance of this kind of malebush prior to the Japanese occupation; and since the occupation, the only cases of this type have been two men who had worked in the labor gangs--Tarev and one other. To the knowledge of the people no person who had not had this Japanese experience has ever become a victim of this disorder. That other men did not break down under this pressure does not invalidate this analysis, for the same objection could be raised with respect to any population. All individuals in a given culture or subculture are exposed to the same or similar strains; certain of these personalities break down and others do not. The attempts to understand this differential threshold of frustration-tolerance has led investigators to the study of those biogenic and psychogenic factors that may be operative. What those factors might be in the case of Tarev and Aneitin are unknown since their case histories are unavailable."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 but I was glad I tried because it gave me a direct experience with
585 Fagolier as dance director. He squatted by the fire and the line of
643 men formed opposite him against the dark backdrop of the coconut grove. To get some glimmering of what to do, I had to watch both Fagolier and the men in the line beside me, and I gradually got the feel of the situation. The dance involved a series of gestures with both hands, and of vocal sounds that varied from hums to shouts but that did not seem to form word patterns. Fagolier directed this with a remarkable economy of gesture, the indications of his hands being translated into full scale action by the men opposite. He was acting as leader and coordinator—again quietly, skillfully and economically.

121 These thoughts about Fagolier were precipitated the morning that Don started his food study of the Falepenach household. Don was resolved to be as exact about this as possible. It is very difficult to get precise figures on what people eat under any circumstances (think of the problem of measuring everything scraped off the plate into the garbage can, or of finding out whether Johnny got into the cookie jar this morning, and how many cookies he snitched). But, Don reasoned, the greater effort you made to be precise, the nearer you were likely to come to truth in your measurements. So, with the complete and invaluable assistance of Yani, he started out to measure everything eaten in Yani's household, Falepenach, for a month.

125 It developed at once that I was about as helpful as a sore thumb
[262] in this process. That first morning Don and Yani weighed all of the breadfruit and all of the coconuts brought in for the day's use. Then, to get a measure of the difference between crude and finished product, they waited around while the breadfruit and coconut were being prepared for cooking. Clearly I wasn't needed for either the weighing or waiting processes, so I drifted off to sit down by Fagolier and contemplate the horizon. Don, in the meanwhile, found (among other things) that twenty husked, ripe coconuts, weighing 27 lbs. 5 oz. produced 11 lbs. 13 oz. of copra ready for use in that day's cooking operations in Falepenach.

121 We had been talking about the problems of the food study from the
262 beginning. A careful study of what people ate, how much, how they got it, how it served them nutritionally, was clearly basic to any at-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

tempt at understanding man's relations with the world around him. With the census finished and the mapping well started, food study had next priority.

Each of us had somewhat different ideas about how to approach this difficult job. In the end, records were kept on four different households for a month each. Two of the studies were made by Ted and two by Don. I am not sure, looking back, why I stayed out of this, because food relations have long been one of my pet interests. I think it was chiefly a matter of economy of effort. Ted and Don had the matter well in hand and each had special advantages: Ted because of his familiarity with local customs and with the language, and Don because of his close association with the invaluable Yani. The daily record taking rapidly became routine, and a pattern formed very early by which each of us established his own special daily routines, thereby avoiding duplication of effort. When to collaborate and when to specialize is a nice problem in the team approach to scientific study. I think we handled the division of labor very well, though not always consciously.

Don and Ted have summarized the results of this food study. The details will be published in scientific papers, but perhaps I can give here a general summary.

The four households included a total of forty people, men, women and children: the average weight per person being 95 lbs. The average daily intake of staple food per person per day was: fresh breadfruit, 173 grams; ripe coconut meat, 130 grams; fish, 105 grams; taro, 70 grams; fermented breadfruit, 60 grams; fresh toddy (sap from coconut flower stalks), 415 cc.; milk from green coconuts, 75 cc.; green coconut meat, perhaps 35 grams.

Calculating food values for these materials is not easy, since most detailed nutritional studies have been made with northern foods. The foods of the tropical Pacific, however, have been studied in Hawaii, and there is a growing literature on nutrition in other parts of the Pacific. From this information, it appears that Ifaluk diet is inadequate in several respects, according to the usual dietary norms. The Ifalukians, however, gave every appearance of having an adequate diet—there were no obvious signs of their being undernourished. I have long

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

146 come to view with suspicion these tables giving comparative nutritional
114 values for different parts of the world. Truly, much of the world suffers from malnutrition as compared with the United States or Western Europe; but also, I think, our nutritionists have failed to give adequate attention to possibly varying needs. The food needs of man in Ifaluk and of man in New York are not necessarily the same.

121 One problem with diet studies is the difficulty of keeping track of
262 snacks, of occasional foods; yet such occasional or incidental food may be very important in relation to some vitamin or mineral requirement. We were very conscious of this problem, and Ted and Don made every effort to keep track of incidental food as well as of staples. Yani was particularly helpful in this, because he tried to remember and report all of the incidental things that he and his friends ate as they wandered about during the day. On this basis, there was considerable variety in the Ifalukian food. At least thirty kinds of plants were eaten in one way or another (not counting "medicines"). Don got records
262 of eighty-eight different kinds of fish that were eaten, and guesses that
136 there must be many more. For animals, there were also sea turtles, chickens and other birds, and occasionally pigs and dogs. Some seventeen kinds of molluscs were eaten, eight kinds of crustaceans, and a few other things like sea anemones and one kind of sea urchin.

139 We arrived at the height of the breadfruit season. Breadfruit trees grew everywhere, producing far more fruit than could be used; and
[136] the fallen, rotting fruits were probably the chief breeding places of the flies that so plagued us. As the breadfruit harvest dropped later in the summer, so did the numbers of flies.

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262 Breadfruit in its season (June through September, with a second, smaller crop in February and March) is the staple food, the chief source of starch, for the people of Ifaluk. It is a staple on most of the islands of the tropical Pacific—the "bread" of Polynesia and Micronesia.

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295 The big, starchy fruits grow on a handsome tree, probably native to Malaya. It may well be among the most anciently cultivated of plants and the main food varieties are seedless, completely dependent on man for reproduction. It is propagated from shoots which spring up around the base of the trunk, and the colonizers of the Pacific—

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Katelu where Maur's spirit lingered; there was a tiny, thatched "god house" in the Valul household area on Falalap; and an immaculate, sanded circular altar as part of the Weluar household area. We called Arueligar the "high priest" because he had the highest ecclesiastical authority on the island, officiating at the few religious ceremonies we observed. Husky, handsome Truesai was his designated successor.

Ted, both in 1948 and in 1953, devoted much time to collecting notes on religious beliefs. He felt that these beliefs were steadily weakening, that he could notice a difference in this respect between his 1948 and 1953 visits. The gods, however, were still with us in 1953; alus, spirits, who haunted certain places, governed various natural events, and interfered for good or evil in the affairs of men. Ted collected a list of nine high gods, and of dozens of lesser spirits. He found, for instance, twenty-seven different alus concerned with different matters in connection with navigation and canoe building—though these, to be sure, are basic activities, much subject to divine guidance in any maritime culture.

My impression, however, based mostly on Ted's writings, notes and comments, is that the Ifalukians were far from having an organized theology. The accounts of divine affairs that Ted got from Arueligar and from the chiefs did not always agree; and most people apparently gave little thought to such matters, leaving them to the chiefs and the specialists. The alus were present, all right, but accepted as a part of the natural order of things: the spirits that every folk find in the world around them.

The vast majority of the alus were spirits of the dead. No one died while I was on Ifaluk, but Ted and Mel Spiro observed four deaths during their 1948 stay. They have described these in their book on Ifaluk: the intense preoccupation on the part of friends and relatives with trying to save a seriously ill person by every natural or supernatural means, the nightly wailing chants, the great seriousness surrounding possible death, and the abrupt relaxation of this seriousness once death has occurred, once the alus has left the body. They ascribe this attitude to the firm belief in the continuity of the soul.

The body of the dead, however, is given ceremonial treatment: the face is painted red, a new loin-cloth or skirt is put on, and then the